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MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND ENSURE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF ALL MIGRANT WORKERS

Report of the Secretary-General on violence against women migrant workers

Addendum

The present document contains comments submitted by the non-governmental organizations Human Rights Advocates and World Young Women's Christian Association.

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Human Rights Advocates

[Original: English]
[30 October 1997]

The University of San Francisco School of Law submitted the following report on the abuses of women migrant farm workers on behalf of Human Rights Advocates and in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/13.

Introduction

1. The number of migrant women around the world has steadily increased over the past decade due to the impact of global economic restructuring, escalating poverty, and violent conflict. The International Organization for Migration estimates that there are over 50 million women in migration worldwide, and over half the immigrants to the United States are now women. 1/

2. These migrant women suffer in silence. "Due to their double marginalization as women and as migrants, women migrants find themselves in situations which they are vulnerable to violence and abuse". 2/ They tolerate abuses from their spouses and their employers because they are poor and afraid. They fear losing their jobs, they fear no one will believe their story, they fear losing their children. Most women farm workers do not know the language of the host country; many are uneducated and do not know they have rights that are being violated; many do not know where to turn for help, thus the violations are unreported. 3/ The women continue to suffer in silence.

3. The first half of this paper gives statistics and documented anecdotes worldwide to demonstrate the need to take affirmative steps to address the abuses women migrant workers face. The second half of the paper recommends solutions for addressing the problem. Human Rights Advocates hope some of the accounts of abuse or recommendations for specific solutions are of assistance.

I. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN MIGRANT WORKERS

4. Violence against women migrant workers occurs in the home and in employment.

A. Domestic abuse

> "Over there (Mexico) the men feel that they have a right - they hit you because it's the custom that over there the man is the one who rules and the woman is the one who obeys. The woman was made for this, to obey, to do what he says". 4/

5. This global traditional attitude of a submissive role of women in the family has contributed to a culture of silence on domestic violence. 5/ Through the efforts of many national organizations, domestic violence has been identified as a "phenomenon" that must be eliminated world wide. 6/

6. Domestic violence crosses all cultures, races, religions and economic lines. While domestic violence research has been conducted for over 20 years, no studies have focused primarily on farm worker families. However, the traditional problems are compounded by the often precarious situations migrant women find themselves in. Although rural clinicians have revealed the problem exists, the majority of clinicians do not know how to deal with it. Consequently, in 1994 the Practice-Based Research Network (PBRN) was created to document the problem of domestic violence by surveying migrant farm worker women. Since the creation of the PBRN domestic violence has been identified as a significant health problem among farm worker families by the National Advisory Council on Migrant Health and the Office of Migrant Health. Domestic violence affects women's primary health care in a myriad of ways: from their physical condition, maternal-child health condition, to their psychological condition. The following are accounts and statistics on migrant women who have been abused in many parts of the world.

United States

7. Although anecdotal information has always been available to show that domestic violence is a serious problem among migrant farm workers, research documenting the problem has been missing. 7/ Consequently, in 1994 the PBRN conducted a pilot study to document domestic violence among women migrant farm workers. Five hundred and twenty-four adult migrant farm worker women at seven health-care centres across the country were surveyed. 8/ The type of service for which the women were seeking varied for each health centre.

8. The 1994 and 1995 study shows that one in three women reported at least one incident of physical abuse within the last year. Most of the abuse had occurred within the last three months with 80 per cent of the women reporting one to 10 incidents within the last year. Furthermore one in five reported having forced sexual contact within the past year. For both of these questions the majority of perpetrators were husbands (54 per cent) or boyfriends (35 per cent). Severity of abuse ranged from "slapping and pushing" (35 per cent) to "beating up with severe injuries" (23 per cent). The largest number of responses was received from the category of "pushing and kicking" at 42 per cent. 9/

9. Many women denied being abused but admitted to being afraid of partners. 10/ Approximately one in four (28 per cent) reported being "afraid" of their partners. There was also a high correlation between violence and drugs or alcohol. Sixty-three per cent reported that their partners used drugs or alcohol. One in three (34 per cent) reported being mistreated when their partners were under the influence of drugs or alcohol. 11/ However, the problem with the drug-related question is the common misconception among rustic populations that beer does not contain alcohol. This would explain the relatively low number of women reporting yes to the question. 12/

10. It is well known that domestic violence is consistently under-reported by most women in the United States. With this in mind, clinicians must look at the 20 per cent of women reporting physical abuse in the 1995 survey as just the "tip of the iceberg". The same is true for the 11 per cent of women reporting forced sexual activity in this survey. 13/

Philippines

11. In the Philippines there is a considerable lack of data on domestic violence, due in part to the unwillingness of women to report instances of violence. The Government has not been able to draft effective legislative programmes or create protective policies to prevent violence against women. The pending legislation is stalled in the democratic process because almost all the pending bills only penalized the crime of "habitual wife battering". 14/

12. Another problem that promotes domestic violence in the Philippines are mail order marriages. Despite legislation prohibiting mail order marriages, statistics still show they continue to exist.

Turkey

13. Turkey's cultural acceptance of domestic violence demonstrates how the problem is aggravated when families or women migrate to another country. Isolated by language and lack of friends or family the women originally from these countries have no one to turn to for assistance.

14. For example, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) found high rates of violence against women in Turkey. In many cases, domestic violence was deemed socially acceptable even by the victimized women themselves, CEDAW cited a 1989 study by Hacettepe University which claimed that 44.9 per cent of Turkish women "think that the husband has a right to beat the wife when she does not obey him", while 45 per cent of Turkish men shared that belief. 15/

15. In a 1995 study of the rural population of south-eastern Anatolia, CEDAW noted, 76 per cent of women reported being beaten by their husbands. Of those women, more than 70 per cent reported being beaten by their parents or brothers before marriage, and two fifths said they had not reported incidents of violence for disobedience or failure to perform housework properly. 16/ When these women migrate they take this abusive cultural tradition with them.

B. Violence in employment

> "I would dream and feel him following me. It was like being enclosed within a problem not knowing which way to go, which agencies would help, who would listen. I was afraid to tell my husband because I didn't know the reaction he'd take, and I was afraid to tell the owners because he could let me go". 17/

16. The women more likely to be sexually harassed and among the least likely to take action are migrant workers. 18/ Abuse of migrant workers is a tremendous problem worldwide; however, similar to domestic violence, it goes on unreported. Female farm workers and domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment because they are often isolated by language culture and lack of education. They fail to report the incidents because, like Cecilia Romero, they are afraid and feel they have nowhere to turn for assistance. Most migrant workers are very poor, below the poverty line, and fear losing their jobs. It takes special courage to challenge an employer

when there are 20 or more people waiting in line to take your job. In addition, since most are uneducated they are unfamiliar with the laws and procedures. Many countries do not even have laws or employment grievance procedures for sexual harassment. Societies have made these women practically invisible.

United States

17. July 1997, in a landmark Californian case, Cecilia Romero won a $50,000 judgement against Santa Maria Berry Farms for sexual harassment. Cecilia Romero, a 33-year-old monolingual Spanish speaker who migrated to the United States from Mexico, has been working in the fields for 14 years. 19/ José Avila, Romero's supervisor, began asking her for dates and sexual favours in August of 1994. After Romero told Avila she was married with a son and not interested, Avila became more aggressive in his pursuit. He followed her home and parked in front of her house when her husband wasn't home, she testified. When that tactic failed to work, Avila called Romero and her female co-workers offensive names at work, and followed them to the field's portable toilets, where he would listen to the women go to the bathroom and make offensive comments.

18. In May of 1995 Romero complained about Avila to his supervisor Jesús García, who is also Avila's brother-in-law. García did nothing. Soon afterwards Romero received disciplinary notes regarding the quality of her work. In July of 1995 she was suspended. After she was suspended she complained to the grower of Santa Maria Berry Farms. She never returned to file a written complaint because she feared Avila and Garcia.

19. Santa Maria Berry Farms, "is one of the more established farms, and you would think their operations are better than smaller berry farms. So if it's going on there, it's probably just the tip of the iceberg". Attorney for California Legal Rural Assistance Deanna Kitamura, who handles farm worker claims, stated "one thing we've noticed is there is a lot of quid pro quo harassment, like asking for sex in exchange for job benefits". 20/

Philippines

20. Abuse of female migrant workers is especially acute for the Philippines. Due to poverty that continues to affect women more than men, there are 6 million migrant workers, 3 million of whom are women. 21/ Following are accounts from two women who migrated from the Philippines to London.

> "Samantha's hands shake uncontrollably when she recalls her first week in London working for an employer who paid her in mental cruelty, humiliation and sexual abuse.
>
> "Like so many others, she had been lured from the slums of Manila by the promise of money that would help her family to break away from a life of poverty.
>
> "At first she thought her employer - 'a handsome Middle Eastern man with beautiful children' - was charming. But on her second day at work at his flat in central London he attacked her in her room.

"'He lay on my bed and said that it was part of my duty to give him pleasure. I cried and begged him to leave me alone, but he grew angry and began to hit me around the head and call me bad names. I cannot remember what happened next, I must have passed out. When I awoke my face was swollen and bruised and my pyjamas were ripped and torn on the floor. There was blood on my body and I hurt everywhere. I do not know what he did'.

"Samantha, 27, was imprisoned by her employer. He took her passport, prevented her from using the phone, and refused to let her leave the flat alone.

"She thought his wife would help her. But the woman told her she was lazy, dirty and unfit to look after her children, and on one occasion beat her with a broom.

"'They told me I could not eat from the fridge, only scraps they left from their meals', Samantha said. 'I was hungry and frightened. I could not understand why they were treating me like an animal they didn't like'. With calculating cruelty, Samantha's employers would sometimes show kindness. 'I cried with gratitude when they were nice and then they would start to hurt me again. I thought I was going mad.'

"She put up with the daily abuse only because she believed that her wages of about 120 pounds a month were being sent to her family in the Philippines. She escaped after discovering that this was a lie". 22/

21. Annie, also from the Philippines had a similar experience. She was never struck by her employers, a Lebanese couple living in London. But they watched with amusement while their child beat her for fun. "The girl's kicks and punches hurt me a lot", she said. "The blows to my breasts caused bruising and much pain. Her parent's weren't concerned at all - I was less than human to them".

22. Similar to Samantha, Annie was also a prisoner. The family took her passport, refused to let her leave the apartment, and refused her to use the telephone. "I was their slave ... They made me sleep on the floor ... The working day began at 6 a.m. and frequently I worked 18 hours before going to sleep again." 23/

23. Annie went to Britain to earn money to feed her children in the Philippines, but her wages were never paid. Her mail was intercepted and her letters home were torn up. When she could endure no more she ran away.

24. Father Aodh O'Halpan, a Roman Catholic priest in London who helps migrant workers who are abused by their employers, said that Annie's case was "depressingly typical". "They are maltreated 7 days a week, 18 hours a day. They are badly fed, made to sleep in broom cupboards or lavatories and abused sexually and physically. It is abject degradation." 24/

United Arab Emirates

25. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) Government passed legislation targeting illegal immigrants which has disproportionately affected women migrant workers. Stringent new rules for employment took effect on 1 October 1996, making it extremely difficult for household helpers from Bangladesh, India, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, who make up the bulk of the estimated 20,000 foreign maids hired in the oil rich Gulf country. 25/

26. Since October 1996 anyone hiring a domestic helper or any other worker who has deserted a previous employer faces years in jail and a fine of up to 30,000 dirhams (US$ 8,100). Illegal workers who have stayed behind after the amnesty will have to pay heavy fines, and may be sent to prison or be deported. 26/

27. Nearly 80 per cent of the foreign maids in the UAE are from Sri Lanka. Groups working with migrant workers say many women flee employers to escape abuse. Sexual abuse by employers is common. Seventeen-year-old Filipino maid Sara Balabaga, found guilty by a UAE court of killing her employer after he tried to rape her last year, spent a year in prison before she was sent back to the Philippines in 1996. 27/

28. It is very difficult for the migrant domestic workers, in an alien land and scarcely out of sight of their employers, to register themselves with their embassies or file complaints. Many have to surrender their passports to their employers. 28/

Hong Kong

29. Forty-seven female migrant workers with four infants escaped their abusive employers and sought shelter at the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) office in Hong Kong. The migrant workers are mostly victims of physical, psychological or sexual abuse by their employers. The 47 Filipinos and the 4 infants all used to stay in a 900-square foot flat in Hong Kong. There are so many incidents of abuse of migrant workers by employers that the OWWA had to build a temporary building to house the women. More than 220,000 overseas migrant workers are employed as domestic helpers in Hong Kong. 29/

Kuwait

30. Three Sri Lankan maids who were battered by their employer were forced to take refuge in their embassy in Kuwait. Photos showed bruises on the women, which they said came from being beaten with shoes. One had her back burned with boiling water. 30/ Scores of such cases have surfaced in Kuwait, where Asian workers have complained repeatedly of maltreatment, sexual abuse and non-payment of wages, which rarely exceed $150 a month.

Malaysia

31. An Amnesty International report cited cases of physical and sexual abuse and harsh working conditions of migrant workers in Malaysia. 31/

Saudi Arabia

32. Violent and inhumane conditions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have been widely documented. More than 2,000 cases of ill-treatment and abuse of migrant domestic workers have been documented in Britain. 32/

33. In Saudi Arabia all domestic workers must surrender their passports upon arrival. Critics say this official State policy increases migrant women's vulnerability to exploitation and abuse by institutionalizing employer control over the freedom of movement of domestic workers. 33/

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTIONS TO VIOLENCE AGAINST MIGRANT WOMEN

34. Many countries, including South Africa, the Philippines and China, have established committees to attempt to solve the problems of abuse of female migrant workers through legislation. Governments accepting that the problem exists is the first step to addressing the problem. All Governments must take this first step. However, drafting legislation will not solve the de facto abuse that persists even after legislation is enacted. For example, Iraq is among the 111 countries that ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women without reservation. In spite of the treaty, Iraq continues to violate most of the provisions of the Convention. Therefore, countries must take a holistic approach to the problem, including social and legal solutions.

A. Education and prevention

35. Education is the best, most cost-effective measure available to increase awareness and promote intervention at various levels. 34/

1. Cooperation between health clinics, legal services and social services

36. For the education process to succeed local health clinics, social service providers, legal services and community colleges must collaborate to form a network accessible to women migrant workers. The woman needs assistance in all these areas to escape abuse by her husband or her employer.

2. Proper training

37. There must be a greater effort to educate all clinic staff about domestic violence among the migrant women population. Physicians and mid-level practitioners must attend the training along with other staff members. The findings of physical examinations including unexplainable or inconsistent injuries, self-defence injuries and overt signs of battering, will often be discovered by this group of clinicians. Being able to chart findings and make the proper referrals is not enough; continuity of care is crucial. Practitioners should possess knowledge concerning safety plans, danger assessments and area resources. The fewer personnel the battered woman must see, the greater sense of security she will have, and the less chance she will be lost in the shuffle. 35/

38. As shown by the anecdotal histories from migrant women in London and migrant farm workers in the United States, 36/ forced avoidance/isolation

appears to be a common abuse among the migrant worker population. Forced avoidance/isolation includes controlling the women's activities completely - who she sees, where she goes, to whom she speaks; denying her access to health care; restricting her employment; and keeping her from family and friends. These "control" techniques are used by the husband in the women's home country as well, as demonstrated by the statistics in Turkey. But the problems become exacerbated when she comes to a new country where she doesn't speak the language, she does not have any friends or relatives in the same city or country, and she is not familiar with the laws.

39. Moreover, the social/clinician workers must speak the language and understand the culture of the migrant. Cultural barriers between social workers/clinicians and women migrant workers prevent the gathering of accurate statistics showing the number of migrant women who are actually abused. As is evidenced by the statistics, all countries, including the United States, Turkey and the Philippines, the abuses must be documented to formulate statistics. If the abuses are not documented, as shown by the Philippines, countries have problems drafting effective legislative programmes. In addition, many countries, such as India, need documentation of the abuses of migrant women to disprove the myth that the problem does not exist. For example, an Indian officer from a top-10 company, in response to sexual harassment, stated "In India I don't think such a problem exists; we respect all women as our mothers and sisters". 37/ These myths must be refuted with hard facts that clinicians with proper training can gather.

3. Global cultural training

40. To solve the cultural problems mentioned in Mexico and the Middle East (and throughout most of the world) all countries must have social services to educate both women and men on domestic violence. All men and women must learn that domestic violence is not acceptable in any culture. This can start as early as elementary school. All boys and girls need to be taught that domestic violence is wrong. A woman never "asks for it". A curriculum must be developed, starting in elementary and going through high school, to enable students to discuss the issues associated with domestic violence. Furthermore, health clinics must offer psychological counselling to men and women so both will learn how to deal with their problems in a non-violent manner.

4. Outreach programmes

41. To further assist in solving the problems of lack of documentation and isolation of women migrant workers, it is imperative that countries develop outreach programmes. Outreach programmes are the link between the migrant worker and all the legal and social services that assist in finding solutions to the abuse. Several programmes in the United States serve as models.

42. In 1995, the Migrant Clinicians Network, in partnership with the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Family and Intimate Violence Prevention Team and the Líderes Campesinas, a self-organized group of farm worker women who have come together to address problems in their communities, began a project to develop and evaluate training for Hispanic migrant farm worker women in the area of domestic violence education and prevention.

43. Líderes Campesinas has created an effective outreach programme in the United States to educate women migrant farm workers. It provides a good model for other countries as well. Since 1994 Líderes Campesinas has educated and trained women farm workers to conduct peer-on-peer education. Participants learn about the causes of domestic violence, the symptoms and possible legal remedies. Trained women then return to their communities and educate fellow farm workers to identify domestic violence and find solutions to end the cycle of violence. It is essential that the outreach programme has persons that have either been migrant workers themselves or speak the language and are familiar with the culture of the migrant worker. As mentioned earlier, language and cultural barriers impede the clinician's task to assess domestic violence, and consequently, jeopardize the woman's chance of getting help. 38/

44. In order to educate the women farm workers, Líderes Campesinas sends ex-farm workers, who are familiar with the migrant farm workers' lives, to the fields during the day and the labour camps in the evenings. The outreach worker will strike up a conversion with the women in the fields and, eventually, will tell the women where they can visit a health clinic or find information regarding immigration and other social services. The outreach person must have special interview skills to obtain the necessary information. For example, one cannot ask directly "Does your husband hit you?" because the answer will probably be "No" or "None of your business". The interviewer must start with general questions not related to the actual information he/she wants and eventually have the person tell the interviewer the information without ever directly asking the question. 39/ It is important to establish "trust" with the workers for them to open up.

45. Other types of outreach programmes consist of monthly one-stop clinics/conferences. Once a month the legal service or social provider in the community has a conference to address migrant worker's needs. For example, the California Legal Rural Assistance, a United States organization that gives legal services to migrant farm workers, provides a monthly "Dia del Trabajador" (Day for the Worker). All the health providers, including dental services, legal service providers, and community college or training colleges attend the conference to inform the workers of all the possible services available to them. Among the issues covered during the conference are farm worker safety, personal health, education, small farmer trade, and immigration.

46. Through these outreach programmes the word starts to spread among women migrant workers that they have legal rights and options. They become aware of shelters and agencies who want to help. They do not have to suffer in silence. Furthermore, these organizations working directly with migrant women can report violations of abuse directly to the United Nations.

B. Government funding

47. Education cannot exist without Governments funding the legal and social service programmes. Governments must stop cutting funding for programmes such as California Legal Rural Assistance. On the contrary, Governments must fund more agencies similar to Líderes Campesinas - agencies which go directly to the migrant workers and find out what their needs are, agencies which find out

how many women are suffering from domestic violence or abuses by their employer. Without the funding these organizations cannot exist and the problem will continue to exist.

48. Furthermore, Governments should continue or start to fund women's clinics where women can have access to birth control and gynaecological examinations without charge.

C. Media attention

49. In order to continue the funding the agencies must contact local and national media to expose the problem of domestic violence and abuses in the workforce among migrant women to the public at large. The media must rally for public support so legislative bodies stop cutting funding for social agencies creating solutions to the problem.

World Young Women's Christian Association

[Original: English]
[20 October 1997]

In response to your request for information on the above-mentioned subject, the World YWCA is pleased to inform you that the issue of violence against women is very high on our agenda. It was chosen as one of the major areas of work by our national associations represented at the last quadrennial World Council Meeting held in Seoul in 1995.

The YWCA of Taiwan hosted a large gathering of women representing YWCAs in Asia and the Pacific for a conference on "Elimination of Violence Against Women - The Role of Asia-Pacific YWCAs in the 21st Century", in Taiwan in April 1997.

The YWCA of the United States of America is right now occupying the Chair of the Steering Committee of the World Conference on Family Violence scheduled for September of 1998.

Several YWCAs observe a "Week of Violence" in October of every year and focus on awareness-raising and activities related to this issue.

In addition, several national YWCAs run shelters and counselling centres for battered women.

The YWCA of Germany is specifically working with migrant women. They have set up travellers aid programmes at railway stations to help the arriving migrant women. They also have hostels and counselling facilities for au pair girls now coming from Eastern Europe. They have set up counselling centres for women migrants coming from Thailand, the Philippines, Africa and Latin America and recently the Caribbean for sex tourism and as mail-order brides.

Notes

1/ "Gender and Migration", Network News (Fall 1997).

2/ Thalif Deen, "UN - women: UN launches fund to prevent gender violence", Inter Press Service - Global Information Network, 17 June 1997.

3/ Julio Laboy, "Jury: farm worker was sexually harassed", Wall Street Journal California, 30 July 1997, pp. CA2, CA6.

4/ This cultural problem was articulated by a 52-year-old woman who left Mexico at the age of 43 for the United States. Looking for a Better Road. The Farmworker Women's Domestic Violence Training Project 1995 Year End Report, Migrant Clinicians Network, 1995, p. 7.

5/ "UN: social conditions, including poverty, remain obstacles to women's advancement in Philippines", M2 Presswire - Information Access Company 28 January 1997.

6/ Thalif Deen, quoting Noeleen Heyzer, Director for the United Nations Development Fund for Women.

7/ Dr. Rachel Rodriguez, "Suffering in silence; domestic violence and migrant women", Migrant Clinicians Network, April 1995.

8/ During 1995, nine migrant health centres paticipated in the PBRN: Finger Lakes Migrant Health Centre, Rushville, New York; Tri Country Community Helath Centre, Newton Grove, North Carolina; Family/La Clinica, Wild Rose, Wisconsin; Northwest Michigan Health Services, Inc., Traverse City, Michigan; Rural Opportunities, Inc., Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; Proteus Employment Opportunities, Des Moines, Iowa; Plan de Salud del Valle, Ft. Lupton, Colorado; Sunrise Health Clinic, Greely, Colorado; and Yakima Valley Farmworkers Clinic, Yakima, Washington. Looking for a Better Road, op. cit., p. 2.

9/ Rodriguez, op. cit.

10/ Ibid.

11/ Ibid.

12/ Ibid.

13/ Ibid.

14/ "UN: Social conditions, including povety, remain obstacles to women's advancement in Philippines", op. cit.

15/ "UN - Population: migration, violence against women top concerns", Inter Press Service, 30 January 1997.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Cecilia Romero, female farm worker who won her sexual harassment case against employer Santa Maria Berry Farms. Laboy, op. cit.

18/ Joseph Bingkasan, "You don't have to be young, beautiful", The New Straits Times, 4 April, 1996.

19/ Laboy, op. cit.

20/ Stephanie Francis Cahill, "Field day", California Law Business, 2 September 1997, pp. 12-13.

21/ "UN - Population: migration, violence against women top concerns", op. cit.

22/ Bill Frost, "Lured to London and life of abuse: case histories; Liberal Democrat Conference", The Times (London) 23 September 1996.

23/ Ibid.

24/ Ibid.

25/ Ahmad Mardini, "Gulf population: new immigration rules to hit domestics". Inter Press Service, 25 September 1996.

26/ Ibid.

27/ Ibid.

28/ Ibid.

29/ "Overseas Workers Welfare Administration transfers Hong Kong workers", Business World (Manilla), 20 September 1996.

30/ "Sri Lanka workers flee Kuwait employers", San Francisco Chronicle, 22 August 1997.

31/ Lara Parpan, Agence France-Presse, 23 November 1996.

32/ Deen, op.cit.

33/ Michael Sheridan, "Manilla issues sex warning to migrant maids", Sunday Times (London) 2 February 1997.

34/ Looking for a Better Road, p.12.

35/ Ibid.

36/ Interviews on file at the University of San Francisco Law School.

37/ Anna M.M. Vetticad, "Sexual harassment: workplace nightmare", India Today, 15 December 1996.

38/ Migrant Clinicians Network, Domestic Violence and Migrant Farmworker Women, April 1996.

39/ Jesús López, Investigator and Outreach Coordinator for California Rural Legal Assistance, Salinas, CA.